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ABSTRACT

The document examines appropriate units for studying changes in familial relations and rural-urban ties, including the importance of the increasing interdependence of rural and urban contexts in family interaction. There have been two broadly contrasting approaches to the problems of urbanization and family change in Africa: (1) "one-way" model which postulates a generally progressive, undirectional Westernization and nuclearization of families as urban migration, industrialization, and other modernizing influences increase; (2) "alternation" model which concentrates on the interplay of tribe and town within a variety of urban settings. These two approaches often work at cross purposes, or explain different sets of data, even though both share a common set of analytical data. Since these models use the urban social system as an explanatory variable, it is then essential to show that such "urban" factors are not also found to some degree among similar rural residents of the area from which men have migrated. The paper also examines some of the processes which generate household form among urban and rural samples of men and their families in Kenya. The major process of social change which influenced the study design is defined as the interaction by urban migrants in rural-urban networks of kin. An Abaluyia subtribe in Western Kenya, 230 miles from Nairobi, was chosen as a rural base. This area (Kisa) has a high proportion (55 percent) of its adult males working away in urban areas throughout East Africa, mostly Nairobi. As yet incomplete, these data evaluate whether or not the network is an arbitrary research creation. (KM)

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ONE FAMILY, TWO HOUSEHOLDS: RURAL-URBAN KIN NETWORKS IN NAIROBI

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THOMAS S. WEISNER

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Section I: Models of Change and Rural-Urban Ties *

Two models of change

There have been two broadly contrasting approaches to the problems of urbanization and family change in Africa. One point of view is general and macroscopic; the other, intensive and microscopic. The first postulates a generally progressive, unidirectional Westernization, and nuclearization of families as urban migration, industrialization, and other modernizing influences increase. The second concentrates on the interplay of tribe and town within a variety of urban settings. These two models of change have been called "one-way" and "alternation" models by Mayer (1962:579).

The "one-way", Westernization model predicts an increasing isolation of the families of migrants from their rural farms and kinsmen. It expects rural-urban differences to grow, and for urban households to become conjugal or nuclear in composition. As a wage earner or migrant moves from the traditional sphere to the modern, this theory argues, he adapts himself by shedding as best he can his lineage and extended family ties and establishing instead a nuclear family. He does this for many reasons, including greater mobility in employment, internalization of a Western, urban, Christian ideology, a desire for economic independence from kinsmen, and a more loose-knit kin network based on similar class and education levels. Goode (1963) and Gore (1968) are recent exponents of variants of this theory, following equilibrium and functionalist models of social change.

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without outside influence. Alternatively "tribal" and "urban" role structure is juxtaposed within the town setting, each being seen as determining behavior within specified contexts (Gluckman 1961; Epstein 1958; Mitchell 1966). This approach is exemplified in the well-known quotation by Gluckman (1961:68-69):

> Persisting loyalty to a tribe therefore operates for a man in two quite distinct situations, and to a large extent he can keep these spheres of activity separate . . . . . Hence the starting-point of our analysis of tribalism in the towns is not that it is manifested by tribesmen, but that it is manifested by townsmen. The African newly arrived from his rural home to work in a mine, is first of all a miner (and possibly resembles miners everywhere). Secondarily he is a tribesman; and his adherence to tribalism has to be interpreted in an urban setting.

Substituting kinship for tribe in this quotation exemplifies the approach of alternation theory to the family. Urban and rural families are quite separate and it is the urban context which determines familial relations. Watson (1958), Van Velsen (1960) and others take a somewhat different approach by comparing the urban and rural statuses migrants continually play, and showing the importance of each in determining rural and urban social changes.

A further important variation of this approach comes from West Africa, with its older, traditional urban centers. In these cities the extended family has often been long-established. Little (1957), Banton (1965), and Harris (1962) among others show how voluntary associations along with extended family organization serve as credit union, link in chain migration, housing agency, and social controller.

Critique: rural-urban differences and the need for a comparison sample

These two approaches often work at cross-purposes, or explain different sets of data. Westernization theories predicting nuclearization of families are perhaps not meant to apply to indigenous extended families in urban settings in developing countries. And alternation studies are often tied to highly specific, traditional or situational factors. Such theories are often not designed to incorporate the broad aggregate data often used in comparative cross-national research on modernization and the family. Alternation models grow out of the specific and fairly atypical mining communities in the

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Both Westernization and alternation models of social change, urbanization, and the family share, by and large, a common set of analytical categories. Each takes as its starting point a belief in a stable, institutional structure within either a rural, tribal society, or an urban one. Both then contrast supposedly sharp differences between rural and urban communities. Cities are seen as social systems with their classic characteristics of density, heterogeneity, specialization of functions, formal institutional organization, and segmentation of society by social class and ethnic criteria. Urban life then either breaks down rural-based extended family relations because its institutions do not "fit" rural ones, or the urban situation, these theories suggest, being so radically different from that in peasant or tribal communities, is viewed as an independent entity, shaping mostly male migrants while they reside in town, but otherwise not affecting rural kin relations. Rural communities are to be sure affected by heavy out-migration, and by the resultant absence of adult male personnel, but the fundamental character of rural kinship norms and social institutions is not radically altered. Interrelations between town and rural situations have been studied, but the conceptualization of the process of change always depends on opposing two theoretical ideal types: urban metropolis and rural, small-scale community. These oppositions of types may no longer be justified in developing nations.

If one uses as these models do the urban social system, or Westernization, as an explanatory variable, it is then essential to show that such "urban" or "western" factors are not also found to some degree among similar rural residents of the areas from which men have migrated. If "tribal" factors are used to explain urban familial relations, one needs to demonstrate that in those rural tribal areas residents are, in fact, behaving as such "traditional" patterns say they do, and that they actually differ from the urban residents in the predicted ways. In other words, in addition to postulating sharp rural-urban differences, previous studies have usually gathered data on only one side of the urbanization process, and have contrasted these with imputed differences in social organization on the other side. Migrants to towns differ from their rural-resident kin in a variety of ways in addition to being urban residents. These age,

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The study of perpetual newcomers and peasant returnees.

Several recent studies have emphasized that rural and urban areas are not only tied to each other and need to be carefully compared, but are in fact part of one larger, national institutional framework. Migrants within many new, developing nations lead lives within both urban and rural sectors simultaneously. McElrath (1968:5-7) speaks of "perpetual newcomers" to cities, and of peasant "returnees" who constantly shift their places of residence and interactions between town and village.

> ...urban migration in new nations tends to be from a fairly limited, narrow hinterland. The points of origin of migrants are not widely dispersed. In addition, although the paths that lead to the cities are short, they are often heavily trafficked in both directions. Urban migrants do not have far to travel before they are back in the rural peasant village. They go home often. This means that in a very real sense many of these migrants are perpetual newcomers to the cities .....
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> The process of exodus and frequent return to the little communities of the hinterland often results in introducing a new kind of village dweller: the returnee, the partially urbanized peasant whose presence and involvement in the social life of his community act as a lever for change. Returnees about to depart again, together with those who are leaving for the first time and those who have been left behind but who look to a distant city for support and future, all constitute relatively new elements in the peasant village....

Halpern (1967) emphasizes the extent to which rural-urban differences are increasingly breaking down, and discusses the shared characteristics of urban and rural communities in both developing and developed countries (Halpern 1967:38-40). He goes on to suggest that

> Because the traditional pre-industrial village is ceasing to exist, in increasing numbers of countries we can no longer speak of a rural-to-urban continuum but can talk only in terms of changing rural and urban contexts. (ibid.: 43)

This "contextual" orientation does not study change in terms of a comparison of types of community (urban or rural), but rather in terms of variables affecting change in both rural and urban contexts. Barth (1967) has specifically contrasted this latter approach to the study of changes in the household with typological analysis:

> ....if attack the problem in terms of a typology of household forms, we might be lead to classify household type I (individual households for each person) and household type II (joint conjugal households) as very different forms and to worry about how type I changes into type II, which is

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> ....if attack the problem in terms of a typology of household forms, we might be lead to classify household type I (individual households for each person) and household type II (joint conjugal households) as very different forms and to worry about how type I changes into type II, which is like worrying about how the fish changes into the crab. Yet the situation is clearly not one where one household body changes into another household body; it is one where husband-wife sets, under different circumstances, choose to arrange their life differently. By being forced to specify the nature of the continuity we are forced to specify the processes which generate a household form. (Barth 1967:668)

The present paper examines some of the processes which generate household form among an urban/rural sample of men and their families in Kenya. Just as one household type does not change into another, so rural men and their families cannot simply change into urban men and families.

The major process of social change which influences the study design is defined as the interaction by urban migrants in rural-urban networks of kin. Such networks appear to be an important consequence of urban migration in Kenya. These rural-urban networks lead to high mobility within and between the families of urban-resident men, but do not affect the form of household organization, when rural homes and a comparable rural sample are included in the analysis. Age, which affects the positions of rural and urban men in the developmental cycle of the family, predicts differences in homestead form, and not urban residence per se. Visiting and frequent rural-urban interchanges of personnel within rural-urban kin networks maintain similarity in homestead form. These are the main hypotheses, and findings, of this paper. Section II describes the study design and the samples; Section III presents data, findings, and some conclusions.

Section II: The Study Design: A Matched Rural-Urban Kin Network

What kind of unit is appropriate for studying changes in familial relations and rural-urban ties? We have seen some of the analytical limitations of studies which include rural or urban samples alone. The increasing interdependence of rural and urban contexts should be of importance for family interaction. This section describes very briefly the research design chosen, and the samples which resulted.

The matched rural-urban kin network

Rural communities "export" men and some of their non-employed kin to towns to seek employment. Jobs are scarce, and not every man who would like to work in a town can do so. There is, therefore, a group of potential migrants living on their rural farms, and a group of actual migrants in town, at any one point in time. This collection of actual and potential migrants has close ties with each other, through visiting and mutual assistance,

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many such clusters of migrants from the same rural home areas. These clusters of migrants continue to maintain ties with their potentially-migrant rural kin. One such rural-urban kin network was utilized in obtaining a sample of rural and urban families.

An Abaluyia sub-tribe in Western Kenya, Kakamega District, located 230 miles from Nairobi, was chosen as a rural base. Like most of Kakamega district, this sub-area has a high proportion of its adult males working away in urban areas throughout East Africa. 55% of all men are employed outside the area, and of these, most are in Nairobi.*

All the men from one localized clan within this 4-mile-square rural area, hereafter called Kisa, who were living in one Nairobi housing estate were identified. The Nairobi estate called Kariobangi, had 24 men from Kisa living in it. During 1969-1970 this colony of urban-resident men and their families from Kisa living in Kariobangi were extensively interviewed and studied through participant observation. After this work had begun, each man in the Kariobangi sample was asked to match himself with a relative currently living in Kisa. The matching criteria were similar age, education, and partilineal sub-clan membership. Age controls for potential for urban experience and for the stage of each man in the developmental cycle of his family. Education is the best available index of likelihood of urban employment and of "modernity"**. Paternal sub-clan affiliation insured rural residential propinquity and controlled the range of familial relations to be included in the study. In effect, the 24 rural matched men were a part of the potentially-migrant group who also had close kin and friendship ties with their urban matches. These 24 matched pairs of men and their families constitute the rural-urban network sample.

At the same time, two census samples were done, one in Kariobangi estate, the other in rural Kisa. These two censuses allow comparison between the rural-urban network and the rural and urban contexts in which it exists. Figure 1 shows the study design diagrammatically.***

The rural-urban matched sample is described as a network. Network analysis has been applied to African urban and other studies in a number of contexts and with a variety of meanings

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**A modernity and values questionnaire was later completed for each network man and wife, but results are not available as yet.

*** This Figure and all subsequent Tables are placed together following the bibliography at the end of the paper.

(Bott 1957; Epstein 1961; Mayer 1961; Mitchell, ed. 1969; and others). Kapferer (1969:180-1) distinguishes egocentric "reticulums" from larger networks; most usages of network in African urban research have been of reticulums. The present matched sample network fits no strictly-defined type presently in common use. The network of the urban men is somewhat arbitrarily restricted to those resident in the same estate from a common rural location. The rural base is in turn delimited by localized clan affiliations. The rural matches may or may not have ties to each other in addition to ties to their urban matches and other men in Kariobangi and Nairobi. These rural-urban networks are not named, and are implicit in behavior, rather than an explicit cognitive or psychological "reality".

The research design thus restricts the network in a variety of ways. But this fact does not detract from the strong ties between the men in the network resident in Kariobangi. 10 of the 24 men in the urban sample live either in the same room or building. When the urban men were asked to name their three best friends resident anywhere, 25% of all friends spontaneously named were men also in the network. Preliminary analysis indicates high inter-sub-clan interaction and knowledge of other men within Kariobangi for men. Women know fewer people, and most of these are within their husband's sub-clan. Visiting and mutual aid of all kinds is very frequent amongst the urban network members, although certainly not limited to this group.

The rural matched network sample is of course more geographically dispersed; this tends to limit knowledge of and interaction with other rural network members. Interaction and knowledge tend to be confined to men in the same sub-clans. However, since two of the four sub-class within the network include 77% of all the homesteads in the sample, this tendency toward dispersion is reduced.

Analyses of span, density, multiplexity, and other measures of the sociometry and exchange relations within the network are as yet incomplete. These data will assist in examining the degree to which the matched network is a arbitrary creation of the research design, in addition to being an important unit for interaction in Nairobi and in Kisa. Such precise measures will be of greater importance than typological exactitude in the use of the term network.

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Some comparisons between network and census samples

This paper concentrates on some data primarily from within the network. Some comparative data contrasting the three samples -- rural Kisa census, rural-urban matched network, and urban Kariobangi census -- are useful, however, for placing the network in a wider socioeconomic and demographic context.

Table 1 shows several comparisons on measures of demographic and socioeconomic status between the three samples. The residents of Kariobangi estate are a bit below the average income, education and occupational status levels for Nairobi as a whole, but the estate is typical in its tribal diversity. Kisa is probably a bit above similar average figures for Buluyia and Western province as a whole. Overall, those in the network matched sample are quite similar to the urban and rural censused communities. The urban-resident network men are a bit below the Kariobangi median on years of school and monthly income, and are a bit younger. They are some six years younger than the median age for all adult men in the rural Kisa census. Urban and rural network members are substantially younger and better-educated than are Kisa men heading homesteads. This is because younger, better-educated men are of course more likely to obtain employment. Both network and Kariobangi censuses conform to a typical African urban pattern, with high proportions of young children, few school-age children, many men age 18-45, high male/female sex ratios in town, and few people over 45 (cf. for Kenya, Cminde 1968). Kariobangi does not contain high income or elite residents, and this group is excluded from the present study.

Intra-network differences reveal that the matching process was reasonably effective, and that urban and rural matches are similar in a variety of non-matched characteristics as well. Urban network men were only slightly younger than their rural counterparts, and only slightly more educated; statistical tests of the differences between the matched pairs were non-significant.* The urban and rural matched pairs were also not significantly different in numbers of years of urban wage employment, although currently urban-resident men tended to have more years of residence in town, and have spent a higher percentage of their adult life living in a town. Thus the network clearly defines a group of men and families who divide their lives between farm and city. The matched network illustrates the close ties between "peasant returnees and perpetual new-comers" in rural and urban settings which McElrath (1968) and others have suggested as characteristic of urbanization in many developing countries. Indeed, during the 15-month period the network sample was studied, 10% of the matched men shifted their residence: two initially urban-resident men returned to Kisa, and three initially rural-

above similar average figures for Bunyore and Western Province as a whole. Overall, those in the network matched sample are quite similar to the urban and rural censused communities. The urban-resident network men are a bit below the Kariobangi median on years of school and monthly income, and are a bit younger. They are some six years younger than the median age for all adult men in the rural Kisa census. Urban and rural network members are substantially younger and better-educated than are Kisa men heading homesteads. This is because younger, better-educated men are of course more likely to obtain employment. Both network and Kariobangi censuses conform to a typical African urban pattern, with high proportions of young children, few school-age children, many men age 18-45, high male/female sex ratios in town, and few people over 45 (cf. for Kenya, Ominde 1968). Kariobangi does not contain high income or elite residents, and this group is excluded from the present study.

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* In these and subsequent intra-network matched-pair comparisons, the Wilcoxon T statistic or binomial tests were used.

the past year, some for visits, others searching for employment. Every urban matched man had visited his rural home in Kisa at least once, the median being two visits a year. Of 23 wives of urban network married men, only three had not made at least one round-trip visit between rural and urban households, and most made two.

In addition to illustrating the high rates of visiting and changes in household personnel, and overall high urban work experience, the matched pairs of men show small and non-significant differences in farm land available, in numbers of people in their homesteads available for farm work, and in numbers of brothers inheriting land. Rural agriculture is thus an equally viable alternative for rural- or urban-resident network men. Only two urban network men did not have a producing farm, worked usually by the men's wives, or occasionally by kinsmen and hired laborers. These urban wage workers thus contribute significantly to the rural-agricultural economy. They contribute in other ways as well. Most of their children, for example, who attend school attend rural Kisa schools. Urban-resident network men pay fees for these and other children which significantly contribute to the support of rural schools. Urban men on the whole are more active politically in their rural constituencies than in town, and are as knowledgeable about general affairs within Kisa as are most rural residents. There is little support for the notion of urban and rural isolation within the network, nor, in general, outside it.

The intra-network comparison suggests an increase in options and in social scale for both its rural and urban members (cf. Greer, et al, eds. 1968; Ross 1970; Wilson and Wilson 1968). It also illustrates how both rural and urban social change diffuses to create national patterns of change, since both in and out of the network there are large numbers of Kisa homesteads with as much urban contact as there are urban-resident families from Kisa with rural contacts. Section III examines the effects of this reduction in sharp rural and urban separation due to rural-urban networks (among other factors) on households, homesteads, and dispersal of extended kin in towns.

Section III: Family Units and Rural-Urban Ties

Age, urban residence, and homestead composition

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Section III: Family Units and Rural-Urban Ties

Age, urban residence, and homestead composition

Flexibility and interchange of personnel, which is a prominent feature of intra-network familial organization, argues against taking as an analytical unit either the rural homestead or urban dwelling alone. This section begins by comparing patterns of residence within the network by combining both rural and urban households for each urban family. All family members alternating residence between town and farm can be thought of as comprising

one "homestead unit". The homestead unit contains members permanently resident in Kisa, plus members who alternate residence between their separate rural and urban households. Rural homesteads are often compared to urban rooms, and the resulting differences treated as valid rural-urban comparisons using similar units. Such contrasts are much like comparing Darth's fishes to his crabs. If the concept of the network has validity, it should be clear that urban rooms and rural homesteads are not valid units for comparing households, much less families. Network comparisons must be between on the one hand, rural homesteads and their urban ties, and urban homesteads including their rural household ties, on the other hand.

Using such a comparison, then, are migrants resident in town more likely to have isolated, nuclear or conjugal homestead units than do rural network members of the rural sample? Table II shows the last recorded homestead composition, classified as either conjugal or extended (including either a three-generation homestead or adult co-resident siblings, or both) within the rural-urban matched network sample, by urban or rural residence of the matched homestead head. The table is not significant. Rural or urban residence of men in the migrant network is not related to any pattern of "nuclearization" of urban migrants' homestead units. Nor is the overall proportion of conjugal to extended homesteads within the network sample different from the proportions in the rural Kisa census. 39% of network homesteads are extended in form, compared to 37% of all rural Kisa censused homesteads. Within the network sample, matched pairs show a strong and significant tendency to have the same form of homestead organization (binomial p .005). Whatever may have been the traditional from of the homestead in Kisa, its present form is not predicted by present actual or potential migratory status of the homestead heads.

But there is a variable which does predict homestead composition; this is age. Age here stands both for opportunity to acquire larger households and more depeadents, and for the stage of the family unit in the developmental cycle of the Abaluyia family and household. This cycle broadly conforms to the classic descriptions from West Africa (i.e. Fortes 1958; cf. Sangree 1966; Wagner 1949). Unmarried and recently-married men reside with their fathers and younger brothers; older men establish independent homesteads on inherited (or purchased) lands; the very old live with their youngest son, or in their own homestead. Table III

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men who have returned to extended homesteads lowers the level of significance, and illustrates the essentially curvilinear relationship between age and homestead composition. The age of network migrants, and their position in the developmental cycle of their families, and not urban or rural residence, predicts conjugal or extended homestead form.

Family mobility and urban kin ties

These were synchronic data; they are a "snapshot" of homestead residence patterns at one point in time. Grouped data at other points in time show approximately the same 3:2 ratio of conjugal to extended homesteads. However, sychronic data of this kind conceal the great variability and interchange of personnel within the urban matches' homesteads. When the rural and urban households of the urban men are separated, and the composition of each household is followed over a year's time, there is an average of 1.7 significant changes in the composition of either urban or rural network household; the comparable rural figure is 0.33. 33% of the adult personnel within the (combined) homesteads of urban matched men shifted their residence for significant periods of time during the 12-month study period, compared to 10% of rural matched homesteads. The majority of these residence shifts were of wives alternating their residences between their husbands' rural farms and urban rooms. The matched pairs comparisons within the network show strong, significant differences when compared on measures of household variability. Table IV shows the numbers of households within the network which did or did not alter their form from conjugal to extended or vice verse during a 12-month period. Significantly more of the urban matched households changed than did the rural. Thus although the network's grouped proportion of conjugal to extended homesteads remained stable, the individual urban households making up that proportion changed considerably. Thus the effect of urban residence of the homestead head on these urban network families appears to be to increase overall family mobility between town and farm, rather than to create any new structural form of the family.

Nor does urban residence isolate men from urban or rural kin. Frequent visits between Kisa and Nairobi have already been mentioned, as has intra-family mobility. Sociometric data show that the best friends named by urban or rural matched men are equally likely to live in a town, or in rural Kisa (although there is a non-significant trend for urban men to name other urban men as best friends more often than do rural men). Data are also available on the proportions of brothers, father's brothers, and father's brother's sons resident in towns for each man in the network sample. Again, there are no significant differences between the matched pairs in numbers of

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in town.* The rural Kisa census sample differs from the network sample on these measures of proportions of urban kin. The censused heads of rural homesteads have significantly fewer such ties than do either the urban or rural network matched samples. Thus although not differing from the rural Kisa community in familial organization, the network does seem to represent a subgroup within the Kisa area having more extended paternal kin ties to the urban areas. One might speculate that a consequence of this tendency could be, in succeeding generations, to create a kind of rural stratification system based on homesteads with greater access to urban areas through their established kin ties advancing economically and politically relative to homestead units with less access to rural-urban network ties.

Conclusion

The network sample contrasts potential, rural-resident migrants to a matched group of actual, urban-resident migrants. The network is not designed to represent samples of urban vs. rural men. The argument of the paper is precisely that it is the network of perpetual migrants wherever resident at a single point in time, which urbanization has created in Kenya, and which represents a meaningful unit for studying the effects of urban residence per se controlling for other confounding factors. Comparing distinct rural and urban samples without recognizing the similarities and close ties between town and country creates an artificial rural-urban dichotomy, which, as comparative rural census data show, is not an accurate representation of the social contexts within which actual or potential migrants live.

The existence of rural-urban kin networks and interaction blunts the influence of urban residence for migrants in town and rural residence for potential migrants in Kisa. Thus homestead form did not differ within the network or between it and the rural censused community. But rural and urban households did differ on mobility, since urban men have two households within which their conjugal and extended kin can reside. And the network as a whole had more extended kin ties in towns than did the rural Kisa community. Each of these findings contrasts differences and similarities among three units, each of which is important in understanding the effects of urbanization on the family: actual migrants, potential migrants, and the rural community base.

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*These are tentative findings; analysis is incomplete, and measurement is complicated by non-independence of the network sample, and by the necessity to correct for the residence of one sibling, namely the match himself, in either Kisa or Karibangi.

It has been argued elsewhere that urban-rural ties of the sort described in this paper are a transient phenomenon, destined to decline as cities increase in size and power. Excluding those migrants without rural land, it is doubtful that rural-urban ties will decline. The maintenance of strong rural-urban ties, and the division of the family between two households, is characteristic of an urbanization process common in many parts of Africa and elsewhere. This urbanizing experience is typically associated with relatively insecure or periodic urban employment opportunities, a form of dual economy, and the existence of a viable rural farming alternative to urban migration. The export enclave economy (see Seidman 1970a,b,c) in Kenya which perpetuates insecure employment and inhibits the allocation of scarce resources to rural development is unlikely to disappear in the foreseeable future. Without such a re-ordering of economic institutions and priorities, non-elite migrants will continue to maintain two households and the rural-urban ties which go along with them.

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Table I

Comparison of Three Samples

	Kariobangi Estate Nairobi (estimates)	Rural-Urban matched network	Kisa rural census (estimates)
Population total	c. 13,000	392 (209 urban, 183 rural)[1]	c. 9000
Average size of room or homestead	4.2 per urban room	8.2 per homestead[1] 4.4 per urban room	8.3 per homestead
Tribal composition	c. 38% Kikuyu c. 30% Abaluyia c. 22% Luo c. 7% Akamba c. 3% other	Abaluyia	Abaluyia
Median age of male household heads	35	32 (urban matches) 35 (rural matches)	50 (homestead heads) 39 (all adult males)
Median educational level (years of school, adult males)[2]	6	5	2 (homestead heads)
Median cash income per month[3]	$ 50	$ 40 (urban matches) $ 5 (rural matches)	n.a.
Median size of farm	2.5 acres	3 acres (urban matches) 2.5 acres (rural matches)	3.3 acres
Median number years in urban wage employment[4]	8.7	9 (urban matches) 8 (rural matches)	7.5

1. includes rural and urban homesteads of urban men, and part-time residents of rural men's homesteads.
2. for Kisa census, heads of rural sample homesteads; all adult males shown separately.
3. for household heads, men or women; does not include equivalent value in cash of food or housing for rural households.
4. male homestead heads only.

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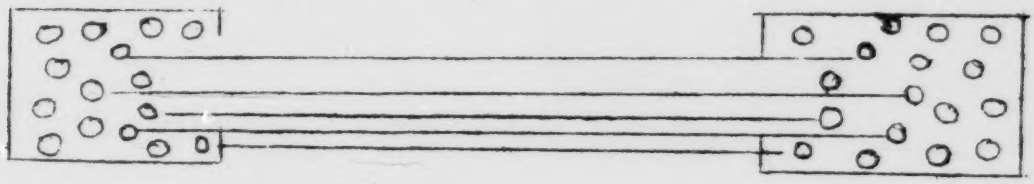
Fig. 1

Design of network and census samples

Rural Kisa census

Urban Kariobangi census



Rural-Urban
Network matched
sample

Table II *

Last Recorded Homestead Composition,
Within Network, by Urban-Rural
Residence of matched homestead heads

	Homestead Composition		
	Conjugal	Extended	
Urban	13	11	24
Rural	16	8	24
	29	19	48

n.s.

*N.B.: Tables II-IV network samples not entirely independent. Elimination of possible non-independent cases does not change direction or significance of any table.

Table III

Last Recorded Homestead Composition,
Within Network, by Age of Matched
Homestead Heads.

	Homestead Composition		
	Conjugal	Extended	
Above	21	3	24

Rural-Urban
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Within Network, by Age of Matched
Homestead Heads.

		Homestead Composition		
		Conjugal	Extended	
Age of Homestead Head	Above 33.5 years	21	3	24
	Below 33.5 years	8	16	24
		29	19	48

$\chi^2 = 12.54$
$p < .001$

Table IV

Significant Changes in Household Composition during a 12-month Period, Within Network, by urban-rural residence of each matched household head.

Residence of Homestead Head	Changed from Conjugal or Extended Household: Yes	No	
Urban	15	9	24
Rural	7	17	24
	22	26	48

$$\chi^2 = 4.59$$

$$.025 > P > .01$$